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No. 24

# THE WORLD TOMORROW

## What Is Blocking Disarmament?

H. N. BRAILSFORD

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## That Bigger Navy

ARNOLD TILDEN

**Americanism Revolutionary?**

*A Book Review by Paul Jones*

**OCTOBER 12th**

***Starvation or Taxation***

KIRBY PAGE

15 cents a copy, $3.00 a year

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# Ex Cathedra

IT is interesting what strange bed-fellows can be brought into one bed provided you construct the bed artfully enough. The Jewish newspaper editors recently took a vote on the twelve Christians who have contributed most during the past year to the cause of the Jews. The list includes an odd assortment of radicals, liberals and reactionaries. In the list of the first twelve, Everet Clinchy, of the National Conference of Jews and Christians, and Mussolini, Senator Robinson and John Haynes Holmes, Dr. S. Parkes Cadman and Sir John Simon jostle one another. In the supplementary list of those who receive honorable mention we find such names as Major LaGuardia and Winston Churchill, Sherwood Eddy and Dean Inge, George Lansbury and Arthur Brisbane. If the list proves nothing else, it does show that foes of anti-Semitism can be found in every class of society and in every shade of political opinion. We are glad that this is true, since anti-Semitism is so virulent a disease that every possible antidote against it must be gratefully accepted. Only we hope that the Jewish editors will not proceed to call a conference of their friends. The confusion of tongues in such a conference would be terrible.

THE lot of the Jews in Germany, incidentally, continues to become more difficult week by week. I am forced to disavow my previous contention that anti-Semitism is purely an instrument of the class struggle in Germany. The hysteria in which the Germans live has made it possible to create a new mythology in which the Jew is cast in the role of the devil and is made responsible not only for radicalism but for every ill to which the human flesh is heir. That a people as intelligent as the Germans are able to accept such an outrageous mythology is proof of the power of concerted propaganda. The human mind is a very frail reed, and the storm of a powerful propaganda campaign easily breaks it. Our educators who are so certain that they are on the way to creating a rational public mind and that they will solve the world's problems by their rationality had better look again at the pathetic facts in our contemporary social and political situation. When we deal with the inchoate mind of collective man we are dealing with less dependable stuff than the pedagogues seem to realize.

THE NRA program seems to have run into a slough of despond even more quickly than the pessimists predicted. Commodity prices are rising more rapidly than the incomes of the farmers and workers. Manufacturing concerns which have been increasing their production schedules in the hope that the market would absorb this increased production are forced to lay off some of the men recently hired. The relief situation in American cities is unbelievably bad. In New York the unemployed are nearer starvation than they have been in two years. Meanwhile Mr. Untermyer has been subdued by the threat of the stock exchange to move to New Jersey and has called off his stock transfer tax, designed to feed the unemployed. Its a difficult problem trying to find someone who will bear the taxation burden required to maintain the unemployed. Those best able to bear the burden also possess the most strategic political power to avoid it.

ALL of this, together with all the sad and disquieting facts of contemporary world history, ought to persuade the moderns who have been so certain that they would establish peace everywhere as soon as they had taught everyone to be unselfish and imaginative enough to understand the problems of everyone else, that human nature makes this a much more difficult problem than seemed to be the case a few years ago. The world's problems demand more realism than modern culture has supplied.

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## Towards Monetary Reflation?

The failure of the banks to expand credit sufficiently to enable the smaller businesses to carry the increased costs caused by the NRA, together with the fall in farm prices during the last ten weeks, has greatly strengthened the movement for raising the price level through the issuance of added currency. Agricultural prices are in fact still too low in comparison with those for city products, and there are still ten million unemployed who need to be put back to work by an expansion of monetary purchasing power which will build up the demand for both consumers' and capital goods.

President Roosevelt is putting all the pressure possible upon the banks to make them increase their loans to business, and has wisely decided to purchase from three to four hundred million dollars of farm products for distribution among unemployed and those needing relief. This is a far better way of removing farm surpluses than killing little pigs so that they will not wax fat or cutting down the acreage of wheat and cotton. Such a step will of course benefit the farmer, since it will not only give him an income for what would otherwise have been destroyed, but will enable him to obtain a higher price for the rest of his crop. It is apparent, however, that the best way of building up the demand for farm products is to put the unemployed back to work and to induce the European nations to reduce their tariff walls and increase the quotas of foodstuffs which they buy from us.

The issue, therefore, turns largely on whether the banking system can be induced to pump sufficient monetary purchasing power into business in the form of new credits. If it can, then the need for monetary reflation will largely disappear. If not, then either the government must continue to borrow enormous sums in its efforts to prime the pump or it must issue treasury notes. The banks of the country cannot logically continue bitterly to oppose monetary reflation and at the same time refuse to grant any real expansion of credit. For if they do not follow the latter course, society will be forced to adopt the former.

That there are dangers in such a policy, no one will deny. But if credit expansion fails to occur, there will be perhaps even greater dangers in not adopting it. Certainly, if private expenditures financed by credit do not rise, total public expenditures will have to increase still further in order to take up the slack. The question then will be whether this expansion will be financed by the flotation of bonds or by the issuance of treasury notes. The latter arouses the mingled ire and horror of self-styled "sound money" advocates. But when the arguments of this school are probed, they are generally found to consist of a naive assumption that only the banks shall make the profit from the creation of purchasing power and that society should pay interest to the bankers for it. This is, of course, nonsense, and merely the expression of class interest. The danger of runaway inflation can be virtually eliminated by providing that when the price level has risen to within 15 per cent of the 1929 level and when unemployment has been reduced to between three and four millions, the governmental budget be balanced and the surplus devoted to retiring the notes which were issued. It is perfectly possible to have a managed instead of a runaway currency, although it does require skill and restraint to manage it.

The experience of the depression should have taught us that a banking system managed for private profit cannot be depended upon to furnish that balanced flow of monetary purchasing power which is necessary for industrial stability and that it will sooner or later have to be nationalized in the public interest. Personally, we believe the sooner this is done, the better it will be, and we are only sorry that the Administration let the opportunity of last March slip through its fingers.

## The Flight of Capital

The vast power of bankers and brokers over legislative action was vividly illustrated in New York City last week. In casting about for sources of new revenue, the municipal government saw visions of desperately-needed sums flowing into the city treasury from emergency taxes on stock transfers and on brokers' gross revenues. Legislation designed to accomplish this was passed—and vetoed by Mayor O'Brien. The cause of this humiliating surrender by officials of the nation's richest city is thus described by *Business Week:*

> Big traders figured the tax costs and emitted piercing shrieks of protest. The financial district was in rebellion. State and city imposts could be escaped by fleeing over the New York line. The whole security business of the metropolis threatened to emulate Mr. Leacock's distrait cavalier who leaped into the saddle and galloped wildly off in all directions. . . . It was Wall Street's bet. It saw the Tammany statesman and raised. Both the New York Stock Exchange and the Curb announced

that they were looking over sites in New Jersey. . . . It announced that the New Jersey Stock Exchange had been formed, that a site in Newark had been obtained. There was a tumult and a shouting.

To the cheers and jeers of Wall Street, the proposed levies were abandoned. This successful display of power has so encouraged the stock gamblers who staged it that they are threatening to resort to similar tactics in protest against certain taxes imposed by the State government. And from Chicago come echoes of raucous laughter from that city's stock exchange, whose officers bluffed their own municipal government into withdrawing objectionable legislation some years ago by leasing offices across the Indiana line and announcing their intention of transferring their base of operations to safe-and-sane Gary. The threat to remove their capital reserves to another country has often succeeded in blocking legislation to which British financiers were opposed.

Such an incident as the recent action of the New York Stock Exchange should be taken advantage of as an occasion for educating the voters concerning the social significance of such threats. If public officials can be thus easily bluffed out of adopting moderate measures against vested interests, what chance is there of enacting radical legislation which will terminate the special privileges of the owning class? Citizens must be aroused to the necessity of carrying through legislation regardless of the temporary consequences of recalcitrant action by groups whose power and prestige are at stake. Radical legislation that arouses furious opposition from vested interests can be enacted and administered only by a political party which is elected on a radical platform and which is supported by an informed and determined citizenry. Failure to acquaint the electorate with the full significance of revolutionary proposals will insure paralysis even if success is won at the polls.

It is this fact which makes the candidacy of both LaGuardia and McKee in the New York City mayoralty race utterly futile so far as genuine reforms are concerned. The former derives much of his support from the Republican Party, than which no more conservative and reactionary element is to be found in American politics; while the latter cannot accurately be described with more expressive language than the statement that he is a mild liberal with political aspirations, and that he is backed by anti-Tammany Democrats. Charles Solomon, the Socialist candidate, will not pile up a record vote, but he will be the choice of intelligent voters who recognize the imperative necessity of building a permanent political instrument which, on the one hand, is seeking revolutionary changes in the present social order, and which, on the other, rejects the strategy of violent seizure of power and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship.

## Conscience versus Court?

We are gratified to learn that in behalf of Ennis Coale, conscientious objector to military training at the University of Maryland, John Henry Skeen and Reuben Oppenheim, Baltimore attorneys, have filed application for an appeal to the United States Supreme Court from the decision given by the Maryland Court of Appeals at Annapolis last June denying Coale's right to exemption from military requirements at the University.

The appeal court decision rendered last June was a reversal of a trial court decision given by Judge Ulman of Baltimore Superior Court last January, and was characterized by an extraordinary lack of judicial poise and impartiality, voicing old slogans and shibboleths which might have come more appropriately from the lips of some oldtime colonel in 1876 on the Indian frontier.

What the Supreme Court will do with the appeal we cannot conjecture, although we are certain that some of its members, as indicated by past actions, will at least give open-minded consideration to the claims of conscience. But in any event, it is of high importance to have a review of the issues involved, so as to clarify future action. In carrying the struggle to the highest court in the land, Messrs. Skeen and Oppenheim, and Ennis Coale as well, are performing a public service of no mean dimensions.

## The Deadly Deadlock

There have been occasions in history when the most unpromising conditions have given birth to progress. But when the approaching session of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva is considered, such an outcome seems incredible. Not by discussion in the public eye, which has been (when genuinely attempted) one of the useful things afforded by the League of Nations, but through devious and concealed bargaining beforehand, have the great powers gone about the work of salvaging the ruins of the previous sessions.

The Germans have already discovered new evidence of their world-wide unpopularity, and Herr Goebbels's dove-like cooings were not even listened to by other diplomats after his painstaking preparation of an address calculated to reveal the leaders of the Hitler government as the most sentimental of sentimental pacifists. Yet they have not relaxed any of their basic determination to re-arm, nor can they, after inflaming nationalism to the fever pitch by the warmth of their demands. France, although obviously perturbed by the realization, dawning too late, that her own policy as much as any other single thing created the monster over the Rhine, sends out trial balloons in the form of rumors suggesting varying degrees of disarmament, and finds each one pricked by the onslaughts of her own nationalists. While the French and British gov-

ernments agree in a general way to the American proposals for arms supervision, Great Britain hesitates to take any stand that will curtail the profits that preparedness brings to her immense and thriving armament industries, and the French leaders couple their superficial willingness to permit supervision with a demand that Germany and France remain in the present ratio for a few years before supervision is to result in arms reduction. Not the least sinister phase of the situation is the new role of Mussolini as go-between for both Germany and France. Neither of the historic enemies dares to say anything realistic or nonbelligerent to the other, so each is obliged to relegate all frank discussion to the dubious benevolence of the scheming Benito.

A pretty spectacle! Meanwhile, proof grows with every day that some of the peace forces are turning away from futile efforts which ignore the realities of present-day politics and economics, and basing their campaigns on the sound understanding that never, until the economic conditions which throw up governments like these are basically changed, can disarmament or peace begin.

## Less Imperialistic?

The international outlook is now so black that despair has settled down over many peace workers. The inevitability of further imperialist wars on a colossal scale has been proclaimed so vociferously and unceasingly that it will doubtless be considered heresy for a radical publication to suggest that possibly the government of the United States is becoming less imperialistic. But the recent attitude of our officials toward Cuba raises some profoundly significant questions.

Consistency has not characterized the policy of the Administration during the present Cuban crisis. With a great blare of trumpets, Secretary of the Navy Swanson was rushed to the scene—only to sail calmly by without landing, and to glide on through the Panama Canal to far-away Honolulu. Ships of war steamed full speed to Cuban waters, but thus far no Marines have been landed. While staging an exhibition of armed force off Cuban shores, the State Department has repeatedly expressed its intention of refraining from armed intervention. What is the explanation of these extraordinary paradoxes?

The answer may be found in the fact that the State Department is fumbling toward a new policy with regard to armed intervention, but is not yet willing to cut loose entirely from its past transgressions. Sending the Marines here and there over the face of the earth in protection of American life and property has become such an inveterate habit that its hold cannot easily be broken. After having established a record of more than 100 instances of armed intervention in foreign lands during the past century, the ordering of warships to Cuba was almost a matter of routine. A false interpretation of the original Monroe Doctrine, proclaiming the obligation of the United States to safeguard the interests of European nations in the Caribbean in order to avoid armed action on their part, has become so deeply embedded in the public mind of the United States that forcible interference with the political life of our southern neighbors is taken for granted.

While there is room for doubt that Washington is suffering from a guilty conscience, the evidence is cumulative that the Administration is rapidly reaching the conclusion that armed intervention is a costly affair. Only the totally deaf have failed to hear the roar of antagonism against Yankee imperialism coming from all sections of Latin America. Some years ago the head of the United Fruit Company expressed opposition to armed intervention on the ground that it is stupid to infuriate potential business colleagues and customers. Cuba is an important sphere of operations for financial and commercial interests of the United States, but much less significant than a combination of the remainder of Latin America. Whereas our investments as a nation in Cuba were less than one and one-quarter billion dollars in 1932, the total for all Latin America was nearly six billions, the respective figures being $1,232,635,000 and $5,802,776,450.

Even a cold-blooded statistical computation reveals the folly of attempting to protect North American property in Cuba by means which will have disastrous consequences for New York and Boston financial interests throughout Central and South America. Our naval and Marine officers must have reached the verge of apoplexy as they stood idly by while a three-million-dollar, New York-owned hotel was being desecrated by warring factions of Cubans. Nevertheless, in spite of the habit of armed intervention, the Monroe Doctrine and the Platt Amendment, Secretary Hull persisted in his determination not to utilize the armed forces at his disposal. Alert observers are fully aware that naval intervention would prove to be a long and costly expedient. North American financial and commercial interests in Cuba would be seriously jeopardized and trade would be thrown into chaos. The whole of Latin America would flame with indignation, and the Pan American Conference scheduled for Montevideo in December would be paralyzed before it ever assembled.

The guiding minds of North American capitalism may prove to be wiser than they are credited with being by their radical critics. They may decide that it is more profitable and less perilous to abandon armed intervention and territorial control of other peoples. The cumulative evidence supporting this thesis is impressive. Powerful interests have concluded that the retention of political control over the Philippine Islands is no longer profitable, but rather

an expensive luxury, and our government is therefore planning to relinquish political authority within the near future. Less and less are we relying upon armed force for the protection of our interests in China, and there is every reason to believe that extraterritoriality will soon be abolished. We have taken the Marines out of Nicaragua, and have signed a treaty which will bring to an end our régime in Haiti by October, 1934.

Emphasis must be placed upon the fact that one reason for the tendency to abandon armed intervention by the United States is that the economic power of this country is so colossal that our financiers and traders feel less and less need for armed coercion. Financial imperialism leads to terrible exploitation, but it will not precipitate a general war between the great powers unless supported by armed imperialism. It would be absurd to maintain that the government of the United States has actually abandoned imperialism, but there is reason to believe that the State Department is feeling its way, with much hesitation and trepidation, toward a policy which is less imperialistic.

## The Economics of Militarism

The economic consequences of Japan's Asiatic policy are set forth in an illuminating article by Professor John E. Orchard in the current issue of *Foreign Affairs*. While China has been too weak to resist with armed force, the economic boycott has been utilized with great destructiveness to Japanese trade. Professor Orchard points out that since 1915 there have been seven major boycotts against Japanese goods, and that "each succeeding boycott has shown an increasing effectiveness." In the 21 months ending with May, 1933, Japanese exports to China and Hongkong, despite the favorable factor afforded by the depreciation of the yen, declined by 213 million yen, or by 47 per cent in comparison with previous months, although Japanese exports to other countries increased by 13 per cent during the same period. In South China there has been an almost complete cessation of trade with Japan. The Chinese boycott is likely to become still more effective because of a law which becomes operative on August 1 requiring that the country of origin be stamped on all goods imported into China.

Loss of Chinese trade has intensified Japanese efforts to secure business in other parts of the Orient, with the result that "trade restrictions directed against Japanese products have been enacted or demanded in every corner of the British Empire." Trade with Soviet Russia is being paralyzed by the controversy over the Chinese Eastern Railway and other sources of friction. Japanese military and naval budgets are mounting at an alarming rate, and the increased burden is still further impoverishing the masses of Japan. Thus is afforded another illustration that the glories of empire are purchased at a great price.

## General Strike Against War

The British Labor Party, now in annual session at Hastings, has just passed a momentous anti-war resolution. The text is not available as we go to press but a correspondent of the New York *Times* cables that this political assembly "today unanimously resolved to take no part in any future war and, if necessary, to adopt a general strike to prevent hostilities." This resolution was presented by Sir Charles Trevelyan, and was supplemented by a statement by Arthur Henderson. The latter assured his comrades that, if returned to power, the Labor Party would quickly enact a peace act which "would provide that in all cases without exception our government should submit its international disputes to one of the peaceful methods of settlement to which we are already agreed. The act will also provide that, neither while a dispute is under consideration nor at any other stage, will the government mobilize its armed forces or take warlike action of any kind except for the purpose of repelling actual aggression."

If the Labor Party resolutely commits itself to war resistance through a general strike and to the pacific settlement of all conceivable controversies with other nations, the effects of such a stand will be stupendous. Indeed, such a strategy on the part of labor movements and radical parties in the various imperialist countries constitutes the most effective means of preventing another world war, pending the abolition of capitalism.

## Fascism and the NRA

We do not agree with the radicals who try to discredit the NRA by applying the epithet "fascism" to it. There is no avowed fascism in America today for the simple reason that there is no radical labor movement. All that can be said at the present time is that the NRA has possibilities of fascism in it when the social crisis becomes more severe. There are labor leaders in this country who would be perfect instruments for fitting the labor movement into a fascist structure. The possibilities of fascism in the NRA are clearly revealed in a recent analysis of the recovery program made by Mr. C. T. Revere, of the firm of Munds, Winslow and Potter. Mr. Revere declares: "With the strong arm of the government around labor, affording guarantee of all reasonable demands, the labor unions are displaced as guardians of the toilers. Their task was finished when the NRA stepped into the picture and took over the functions which they had previously exercised. It remains to be seen to what extent political pressure will prolong their existence. It would seem that with a powerful government standing as champion of the rights and privileges of labor, there would be no legitimate excuse for levying membership dues which constitute a tax on the income of the toiler."

There is no indication that views such as Mr. Revere's are held by any considerable number of officials in actual charge of the recovery program. They merely represent the hopes of big business and show what the forces of high finance and industry would like to make out of the NRA. And they may succeed if they are not opposed by a class conscious labor movement which knows where it is going and who its enemies are.

## Upton Sinclair, Another ex-Socialist

Hard on the news of Paul Blanshard's resignation from the Socialist Party comes the report that the California branch of the Party has ousted Upton Sinclair because he has announced his intention of running in the Democratic primary for the governorship of that state. Mr. Sinclair still regards himself a Socialist but expresses the belief that he has a better opportunity of establishing socialism through the capture of the Democratic Party. We confess to a disappointment in Mr. Sinclair's judgment. We thought him a more clear-headed analyst of political forces than his announced program proves him to be.

Mr. Sinclair's device for bringing socialism to California is the last word in political romanticism. In the first place, he thinks he can establish socialism without recognizing that the economic life of his state is organically related to a national capitalistic economy. In the second place, he is going to establish socialism while leaving the whole capitalistic structure intact. His socialism is going to be a kind of asylum for the unemployed, and his plan is therefore not generically different from the various efforts to restore work to the jobless through the issuance of scrip. Some of the unemployed are going to be settled on land colonies. Others are going to be put to work in factories acquired by the state. These farmers and workers are going to exchange goods among themselves. There are other items in his program, including high income and inheritance taxes, adequate pensions for the aged and for widowed mothers, etc., which are less dubious, provided he could really enact them. But the backbone of his program is represented by his proposal to establish socialistic enterprises for those who find no place in the present capitalistic system.

Upton Sinclair has a long and honorable record as a protagonist of socialism. He is, in fact, one of the few Socialist celebrities in this land. That a man of his stature should take such a program seriously does not speak well for the Socialist movement in this country, and that he should find it plausible to enter the Democratic primaries is a rather sad revelation of the lack of adequate morale in the Socialist movement. Clearly the party has arrived at a crisis in its life. No party is destroyed by the defection of a few members, no matter how prominent. But these desertions are proof of a general lack of a strong sense of direction in Socialist ranks. This defect will not be remedied by losses to the right, such as Blanshard's and Sinclair's. Perhaps the time has come to do some very serious thinking on how the Socialist Party can more effectively become either the center or wing of a radical movement in America which will be thoroughly Marxian in orientation but more effective in binding American radicalism into a fighting organization with a higher morale than obtains at present. Liberal defections from Marxism are futile in the light of the world crisis, which validates Marxism at every point. Yet it is equally futile to stand pat on present policies when there is an obvious loss of morale and unity all along the line.

## The Waning Communist Hope

In the current issue of *Scribner's Magazine,* Louis Fischer, one of the most sympathetic of foreign correspondents in Moscow, begins an article on "What About the World Revolution?" with these words: "The Bolsheviks have now come to the regretted conclusion that there is more life in the capitalist system than they had at first suspected." He then proceeds to trace the history of the millenial hope of the Communists and to summarize their present prospects in the various countries of the earth. "The impotence of the German Communist Party," he writes, "and its failure to check Communism's worst enemy, Fascism, is merely the outstanding weakness of the Red movement in all other countries. Bread lines are the best Communist propaganda. Unemployed are the finest candidates for Communism. Men who sleep in parks and subways are ready for membership in the party of the dispossessed and disaffected. Yet in the United States, with about 15,000,000 workless men and women, the Communist Party has fewer than 15,000 members...."

It is in left-wing circles outside Communist ranks that one is likely to encounter the rosiest hues of optimism concerning the imminent approach of the world revolution. Communist literature in this country, as in other lands, abounds in self-criticism and nowhere else are the failures and weaknesses of the Communist Party laid bare more frankly. At a moment when the Socialist movement is being deserted by some of its former leaders, and when many of its younger members are turning their eyes longingly to the left, it is imperative that the utter bankruptcy of communism outside Soviet Russia be laid bare. Except in sections of China —and even there the form of society which is called communism violates all the canons of orthodoxy as proclaimed by the prophets of the Kremlin—the Communist branches of the Comintern, or world party of communism, are weak in numbers and impotent in power. And this at the hour of capitalism's deepest distress!

# What Is Blocking Disarmament?

H. N. BRAILSFORD

ONE must muster something approaching mental heroism to write about disarmament; to read about it requires the sternest self-discipline. But that miserable Conference is about to meet again, and once more it will typify the world's treachery to civilization. After sitting for nearly two years, it is probable that the Conference will decide to postpone disarmament for another four. After writing that sentence, one might almost dispense with comment. The fact tells its own tale. It means that the great powers, whose reluctance to disarm was evident at every moment in the sittings of this Conference, have found an excuse which they consider plausible for maintaining all their armaments intact. What they may be willing to do, what they promise conditionally to do, four years hence is, morally, of no importance whatever. What one may agree to do then cannot affect the psychological condition of the world today.

Whether the Conference will succeed in defining with any precision the exact measure in which the powers will disarm, when they have indulged their mutual fears and suspicions for another four years, one cannot predict. It is safe, however, to assume that the program will certainly not go beyond the MacDonald Draft, if, indeed, it goes so far. But that Draft, though it would slightly reduce the weight of metal assigned to the service of war, would actually increase the number of men under arms in Europe. It is a scheme of re-armament on a novel plan rather than a project of disarmament. A few weapons labelled by some curious reasoning "aggressive" would, indeed, disappear. I doubt whether Napoleon would have despaired of successful aggression, if he had survived to survey the armaments that Mr. MacDonald will leave at every power's disposal.

The excuse for this postponement of disarmament is, of course, the belief of the French that the Germans are arming in secret. Probably they are. There is no secret at all about the training of the new party armies. One has only to listen to any German broadcasting station any day of the week for details of this kind of re-armament, which half the nation is carrying out with German enthusiasm and thoroughness. Half a million young men are receiving a fairly efficient military training, and when the system of Labor Battalions is working to its full extent, the numbers will be very much larger. So far as man-power goes, Germany has not very much to gain by the permission which the MacDonald Draft would give her, to create a short-term conscript army. She has the infantry already, fairly well trained, and fired with an immense enthusiasm. Her civilian airmen are already embodied in an organization which has the look of an embryonic air force. One hears—and I have heard it on what should be excellent authority—that the manufacture of the engines and appliances necessary to convert civilian aircraft into fighting and bombing machines is proceeding rapidly. In the matter of artillery and tanks there is doubtless a big deficiency to be made good. Rumor asserts that Krupp and other former makers of munitions have been busy at this task ever since Hitler came to power. It probably is so. I have seen figures that claimed to be official which showed that whereas the number of men employed by these firms went on diminishing throughout the slump, it suddenly rose after the Nazi *coup d'etat,* and went on rising, steadily and rapidly. As German exports were diminishing with equal steadiness and rapidity during this period, the inference is probable, if not irresistible. Herr Thyssen and the other magnates of heavy industry who contributed vast sums to Hitler's propaganda funds knew very well what they were about. They wanted first to destroy the pacific Republic, then to smash the trade unions, and lastly to revive the trade in armaments. One need not feel unduly sceptical when the Parisian press asserts that the French government has ample proof of these illicit activities. For my part, I am not unduly curious about the details. I have spent a good deal of time this summer in listening to German broadcasts of Nazi speeches and festivals. I need no spy to tell me that this nation is bent on re-arming—indeed, that it is thinking of little else.

What, then, will happen when the French insist on reimposing the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty for another four years? I do not know precisely how the Nazis will evade or defy this prohibition to re-arm, but I am sure that they will do one or the other. They will try, of course, to bargain. They will endeavor—and it is not a difficult feat—to sow dissensions between the French and the Italians and the British. They may rely on their powers of intimidation to prevent anyone giving evidence before a foreign commission of their illicit doings. They may reckon that a good many months will pass before the international commission of enquiry can get to work and complete its report. By that time they may be so fully re-armed that they might snap their fingers at coercion. They may simply walk out of the Conference, as they did before, or quit the League, as Japan did. I do not pretend to be able to guess exactly what

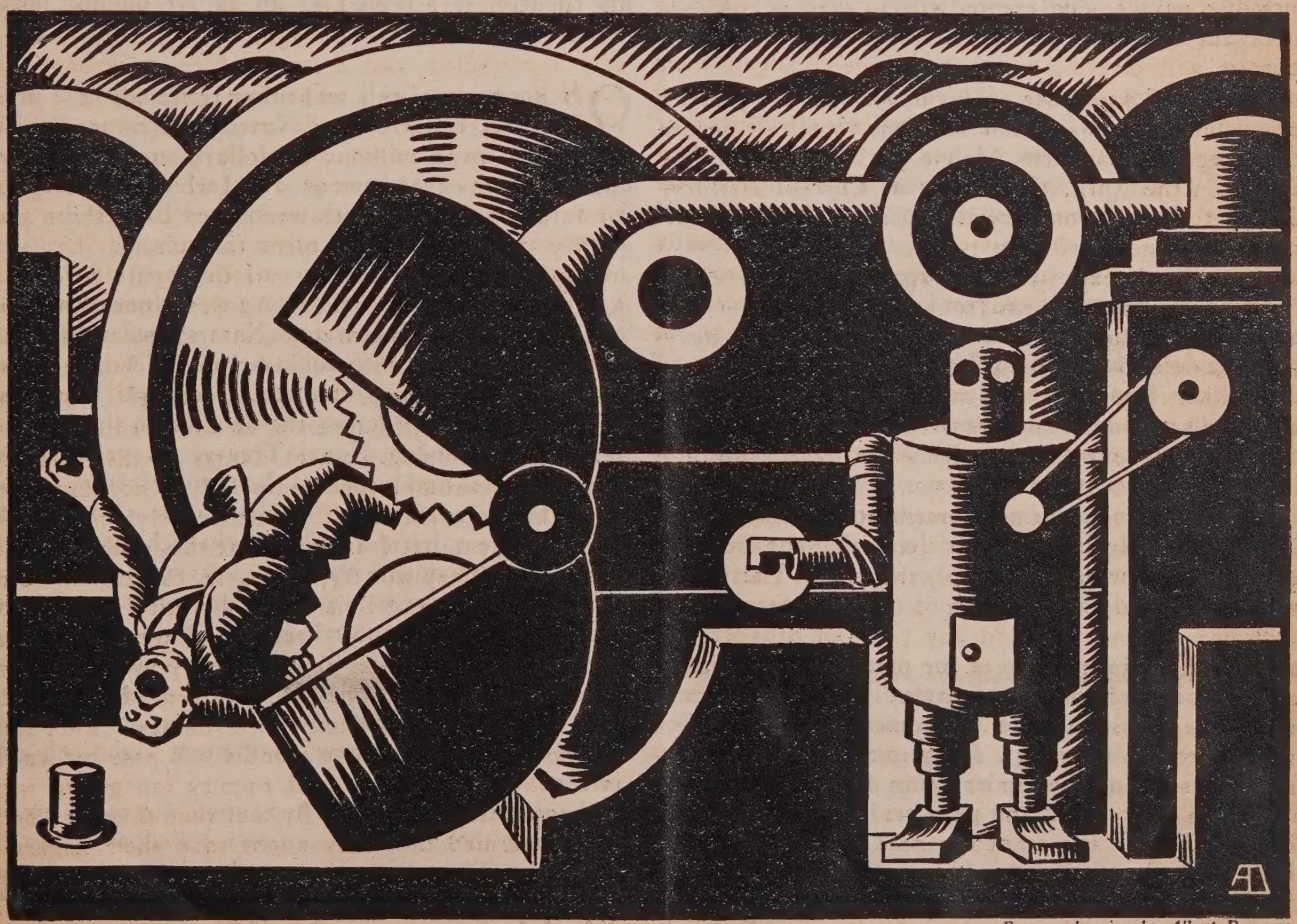
they will do, but I am morally certain that whatever disguises they may use, they will surely go on arming. That was, after the destruction of the workers' organizations, the major purpose of the Nazi counter-revolution. It is, one supposes, because they know this as well as I think that I do, that the French refuse to disarm until the trial period of four years is over.

THE moral is clear enough. This uncontrollable Nazi outbreak is the reaction of a wronged and insulted nation to the insolence and hypocrisy of the victors. They started to talk disarmament fourteen years too late. The moment for genuine disarmament was on the day of demobilisation. They started too late, and when they began, it was only to demonstrate that they had no real intention of disarming down to Germany's level. If, even now, they were ready to do that, they could make it exceedingly difficult for her to re-arm. She has at the bar of justice and reason an unanswerable case.

"But do you question, then," the reader may ask me, "that it is the sincere horror of the powers at Nazi barbarism that prompts their present conduct?" Of course I question it. These powers would not disarm during the long years while Germany was still a pacific and democratic Republic. They feel no horror at Italian armaments, yet the whole of this militarisation of German youth is modelled exactly on the pattern of what the Duce had done for years past, without protest and almost without remark. Is Poland, are the Serbs, less militarist, less barbarous, or more democratic? In Austria, Chancellor Dollfuss has just set up a dictatorship which differs from that of Hitler only in the odd shape of its double cross, that is not quite a swastika; yet London and Paris smile on him and lend him money. True, he does not persecute Jews, nor does the Duce. But that is not the reason why these may carry arms and the German dictator may not. The reason is that Germany is potentially a great power, and a formidable imperial rival. We are deep in the same jungle in which the catastrophe of 1914 overtook us.

Our need is for realistic thinking. To suppose that we can get disarmament before we have altered the basis of the capitalist-imperialist society of today is to frustrate ourselves and waste our energies.

## The End of Capitalism



*—From a drawing by Albert Daenens*

# Why that Bigger Navy?

ARNOLD TILDEN

ON August 2, 1933, President Roosevelt approved the first contracts for the new navy that is to cost the people of the United States $238,000,000. For the time being, the Navy League and that zealous patriot, William Randolph Hearst, seem to be satisfied. For years they have been carrying on a vicious propaganda campaign designed to make the people of the United States realize the supposed naval inferiority of their country in respect to others, particularly England and Japan. Using that large portion of the press which they control, they have sown the seeds of distrust and fear which, when coupled with excessive armaments, lead to displays of military force that produce war. The eternal cry for defense is answered, but what does that answer entail?

Why do we have a navy? Why do we spend hundreds of millions of dollars annually for naval defense? President Hoover, on Navy Day, 1931, said: "The first necessity of our government is the maintenance of a navy so efficient and strong that, in conjunction with our army, no enemy may ever invade our country."

If this be the purpose of our navy, then the present establishment is more than sufficient to fill all needs. Lieutenant Commander Melvin F. Talbot, U.S.N., writing in the April, 1933, issue of *Current History*, says that our present navy is sufficient to protect our continental and Caribbean possessions. The willingness, previously expressed, of Japan to neutralize the Philippines removes them from the scene of possible naval engagements. Yet we must have a larger navy —$238,000,000 worth. Why?

President Roosevelt, in a message to the world during the disarmament conference, said that the United States would be willing to define an "aggressor nation" as any country which, except in defense of treaty rights, would send an armed force beyond its own boundaries. Our only treaty rights that call for armed intervention are with Central American and Caribbean countries, already adequately protected by our present navy.

Why, then, an increase in the number of our fighting vessels? Because the admirals believe that such an increase is necessary, and who, except the admirals, are in a position to know? Large sums of money have been set aside for the modernizing of battleships, yet Admiral Sims, certainly no pacifist, has been reported as saying that in the event of another war the safest place for the battle fleet would be as far up the Mississippi River as it is possible to run it. Battleships, according to the Admiral and other naval authorities, are as obsolete as the recently renovated *Constitution*, once the pride of our navy.

Of course, Admiral Sims has been accused of a pro-British bias, and it is hinted that he desires to prevent the further building or modernizing of battleships in order to protect the interests of England and Englishmen, who could not stand the expense. Queer reasoning, but nevertheless, offered to us by the best minds of the big-navy clique.

Admiral Rock, a specialist in ship designing, insists that the present battleships are "not as efficient as they should be," and demands that they be modernized. When questioned as to their usefulness in the last war, he was not sure that our battleships even fired a shot, but he thought that some of them might have been in the Battle of Jutland. That battle occurred more than a year before the United States entered the war, yet Admiral Rock, ignorant even of the naval history of his country, is accepted as an expert on our naval needs.

ON the basis of this and other testimony, the present Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Swanson, has decided to spend millions of dollars on obsolete vessels that have never been used and which are valueless for future defense. With antiquated battleships adequately provided for, he turns to cruisers. Cruisers are the most important part of the battle force—so important, if we may believe Admiral Jones, that the building of three six-inch gun cruisers instead of three eight-inch gun cruisers would seriously endanger the United States. This statement of Admiral Jones was made to the Senate during the debates on the ratification of the London Naval Treaty. A year earlier Admiral Jones had informed the then Secretary of the Navy that under some circumstances six-inch gun cruisers were more useful than eight-inch gun cruisers. Admiral Pratt, during the same hearing, insisted that six-inch gun cruisers were, under some conditions, much more useful than the eight-inch ones, and insisted that some should be built. While the admirals were squabbling over the relative merits of six-inch and eight-inch gun cruisers, the Navy Department proceeded to build eight new 10,000-ton, eight-inch gun cruisers.

Imagine their chagrin when, upon the test runs, it was found that the new cruisers rolled so badly in rough water that they were rendered ineffective, and further, that their proportions and construction were

so bad that five of the eight suffered serious structural injuries during the short trial runs! All of them had to be returned for rebuilding, and the American taxpayer footed the bill. Within a few months of these incidents a noted marine engineer published a paper asserting that the 10,000-ton cruiser was worthless as a military weapon and could be used only for patrol duty in an absolutely calm sea. The 80,000 tons of sea-power just completed by the United States was offered as proof of his assertions. Under our new navy policy, the additional $238,000,000 is to be spent by the same incompetents who designed and built the now worthless eight-inch gun cruisers.

REGARDLESS of the fact that the vessels are worthless, regardless of the fact that recent experiments have shown that for defensive purposes aircraft are more useful, the new contracts were signed, and we will soon have more junk to pay for and keep in condition. In addition, we find that Senator Tramwell insists that the contracts awarded to two of the major shipbuilding companies for the new vessels were fraudulently obtained and that the government will be cheated out of millions of dollars. Because of Secretary Swanson's refusal to credit the charges, the contracts were awarded regardless of the evidence pointing very clearly to fraud.

We are now assured of a new navy, large enough to satisfy even the Navy League; yet why is it being built? If we accept the word of President Hoover and President Roosevelt as to the needs of the United States, our present navy is more than sufficient. There must be some reason, and it is the admirals, those paragons of wisdom, who again enlighten us. Admiral Hughes, in testifying before a Senate committee, says that the United States must have a navy large enough to defeat England in *English waters*. Admiral Bristol, before the same committee, insists that our navy must be large enough to defeat Japan in *Japanese waters*. In other words, our navy is not for defense but for offense, to be used in attacking England or Japan. When asked about the possible cost and length of a war with Japan, Admiral Bristol replied that the last war had taken five years and cost the United States more than $24,000,000,000. The next one, he assured the Senators, would last longer and cost more.

Recently Secretary Swanson has come to the support of the admirals by outlining his conception of the naval policy of the United States. "Naval policy . . . is based on and is designed to support national policy and national interest. . . . to support American interests, especially the development of American foreign commerce and the merchant marine."

Perhaps it is to be expected that the professional militarists should plead for a large military establishment and should even anticipate future wars, but for a civilian cabinet member, previously a member of the body that had ratified the Kellogg-Briand Pact in which the signatories solemnly "renounce war as an instrument of national policy" and agree never to seek the settlement of any dispute except by pacific means—for such a man calmly, even joyfully, to announce his support of a 238-million-dollar building program for a navy that is to be used to further the interests of American "foreign commerce and the merchant marine," is to the last degree astounding.

THE waste involved in building our new navy, particularly in such times as these, is appalling, but the monetary cost is, perhaps, the least important. Besides the useless expenditure of millions of dollars, we find that the new policy calls for the repudiation of all the international good-will that has been so tediously built up in the decade and a half since the World War. We find the nation that sponsored the Kellogg-Briand Pact repudiating its provisions in principle and announcing that the military forces of the United States will be used in the furtherance of our foreign commerce. Last of all, but perhaps most important, we find that the building program of the United States is the opening act in the race for naval armaments that the world has been trying to avert. No sooner had the United States announced its program than Japan immediately launched a similar one, to be closely followed by England. When the world is suffering from the greatest financial crisis in history, when taxes are higher than they have ever been in times of peace, the nations of the world, led by our own, can think of nothing but needless expenditures on needless machines of destruction, all in the name of recovery.

The Inquisition was carried on in the name of religion; the World War was fought in the name of democracy; our new navy is being built in the name of recovery! How long will the people of the world remain blind and dumb while millions of dollars are wasted in order that the steel market and the stock exchange may recover? How long will they peacefully starve in order that future wars may be assured?

## Who's Who in This Issue

**Arnold Tilden** is a fellow in history at the University of Southern California.

**H. J. Voorhis** is headmaster of the Voorhis School for Boys at San Dimas, Calif.

**A. J. Muste** is chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

**Paul Jones** is student pastor at Antioch College.

**William J. Robinson** is editor of "The Medical Critic and Guide."

# An Experiment in Radical Technique

H. J. VOORHIS

THE Continental Congress Movement contains the principle on which hinges the hope of America. For its method is the federation of as many groups of the common people of the country, socially and economically organized, as will endorse its principles and affiliate with it. Such groups can keep their own organization intact; but insofar as the Congress idea succeeds, it means that each organization belonging to the movement has a right to expect the support and assistance in its struggles of every other affiliated group. The measure of its success is the extent of gain for the various constituent groups which such coöperation is able to achieve. People are blind who fail to see that if, by mutual aid, groups of unemployed, farmers, workers, radical Christians, professional people and Socialists actually gain objectives, it will be exceedingly hard to separate them again. And when the time for political action comes, all the constituent groups are almost certain to support the candidates of the political pary which has been the most effective driving force of the movement.

Of the national Congress held last May, a good deal is generally known—at least by radicals. Its program was and is so complete and thoroughgoing as to leave no doubt of the essentially radical nature of the movement. Of the state Congresses much less is known, but, while some of them were disappointing, others accomplished more for the building of a mass movement of Americans for a new economic order than has been accomplished in a long, long time. The California Congress, for example, brought together farmers who had never before thought of radical action, trade unionists heretofore lukewarm toward political action of any kind, the Unemployed Coöperatives, a large number of Socialists, strong representations of radical young people and determined representatives of the schools and churches. There were hot fights, but a program was agreed upon with remarkable unanimity. This program included among other things public ownership of basic industries and natural resources, a plan for the socialization of land (which passed without dissent though hundreds of farmers were present) and a keen critical analysis of the NRA.

The national and state Congresses were, after all, meetings of people away from home, and their resolutions and deliberations could conceivably, though not necessarily, fail to be carried through by action; but not so the regional Congresses. At least one such regional Congress has been held already, and it seems likely that it will give birth to others. In a California valley, just east of the Los Angeles metropolitan area, a group of determined people planned and carried through a regional Congress with pronounced success. The real test of the Continental Congress idea was made here. For this was to be an attempt to weld together for cooperative action various groups of the American masses who live side by side with one another and whose professions and resolutions had to be made before people with whom they come in contact from day to day.

THE first step was to set up a committee to arrange the conference which should be as widely representative as possible of the various economic and social organizations of the people of the region. The committee when finally set up included the manager of the Pomona Unemployed Coöperative Relief as chairman, his wife, the leader of the carpenters' union of Pomona, three farmers from Ontario, Claremont and Covina, two university professors from Claremont, an unemployed worker from Cucamonga, an electrician, a school teacher and a Socialist storekeeper. When the committee met, it was obvious that the thing to do was not simply to talk about the Sacramento Congress as a matter of information, but to hold a Regional Congress of Workers and Farmers for Economic Reconstruction.

As many organizations of unemployed, farmers and workers, citizens' associations, church and youth groups as seemed ready to go through with a radical program were contacted and urged to send delegates. Members of the committee and other sincerely intrested people started out to interest their friends and acquaintances. It was obvious to the members of the committee that the coöperative action of its membership, if it could be carried over into a regional Congress, would mean virtually that the long-hoped-for mass movement of Americans for a new economic system would be on its way in one small section of the United States at least.

Accordingly, a small pamphlet was printed containing the more important parts of the program worked out by the state Congress, notices of the meetings preceding the regional Congress, and a program for the local Congress itself. These pamphlets were circulated and distributed, the pre-Congress meetings proving an excellent way of doing this, with the result that when at last over 200 delegates assembled in the Unitarian Church in Pomona for the Congress, they were ready to go forward.

The Congress itself began with a mass meeting on

Friday night, September 8, in Pomona. This meeting was arranged so as to start the Congress out as an expression of the will of the whole common people of the valley. There were speakers for the unemployed, for organized labor, for the farmers, for the Citizens Protective Association, for the churches, and for the young people. The New Declaration of Independence was read in unison. The meeting was closed with an address by J. Stitt Wilson, convener of the California State Congress of Workers and Farmers.

Next day the Congress convened at two o'clock, organized itself immediately and proceeded to discuss reports of the work done at Sacramento on Public Ownership, Unemployment and the Right to Work, Education, Agriculture, the NRA, and Coöperation of the Churches. The Congress then broke up into divisional meetings: one for labor, one for farmers, one for young people, one for coöperatives and unemployed, one for Citizens Protective Leagues, and one for the churches. These groups laid plans for organization of their particular groups and drew up a few important resolutions for submission to the Congress as a whole.

THE evening session was devoted to the reports of divisional meetings, together with the formulation and adoption of plans for continuation of the Regional Congress as a permanent force, working through immediate practical organization work toward real economic reconstruction. The unemployed group presented a resolution condemning the destruction of food products in connection with the Administration's attempt to raise farm prices and demanding that these so-called "surpluses" be distributed through organizations of the unemployed to those who are in immediate need of the very products that are being plowed under or otherwise destroyed. The resolution was unanimously adopted. The farmers' report set forth plans for the organization of a Farmers' Protective League for mutual protection against unjust foreclosure and other common troubles. This plan was endorsed by the Congress.

The report from the labor group included a resolution to the effect that members of the Congress endorsed and stood ready to push through to completion the plan of organizing the agricultural workers and county relief workers of the region into "NRA unions." One good reason for this resolution was the fact that men in San Bernardino County had been threatened with having their names withdrawn from the county relief rolls if they refused to be used as agricultural strike breakers. The labor resolution further called for the affiliation of any such unions as should be formed with the American Federation of Labor if that organization would accept them. Organization work of the kind called for in this resolution is of course exactly the sort of work which the Continental Congress aims to do, and, indeed, has already done with great success in northern California.

The church group reported two resolutions, the first a strong statement of the absolute necessity of people who pretended to be followers of Jesus being also supporters of the Continental Congress Movement, and the second an offer on the part of the church people to undertake to do publicity work for the Congress as a whole and its constituent organizations. This report was received with considerable applause, probably because it revealed so fundamentally the practical possibilities inherent in the idea of inter-group coöperation. For it is obvious that the church people stand in a position more favorable than any of the others with regard to getting news into the press, and their readiness to accept this portion of the work was regarded by the Congress as evidence of keen understanding. The young people brought in resolutions calling for active opposition to war and for a campaign against racial discrimination. These were adopted.

A general resolution was introduced calling for the transfer of "all means of production and distribution and all natural resources essential to the life of the American people, from private hands into the control and ownership of the people as a whole." Although only a little more than 20 per cent of the delegates were Socialists, this resolution received but two dissenting votes.

Out of the Regional Congress of Workers and Farmers has come an executive committee which is publishing a news sheet to inform those who signed the membership cards of the progress of their movement, coöperating with the people of Orange County in setting up a regional Congress there, and giving its support in every possible way to the various groups which make up the Congress in their organization and propaganda work.

A Regional Congress of Young People has already been held, and a local Youth Movement is under way. The farmers meet within a few days to enlarge their committee and proceed with organization plans. Work is proceeding on all the various economic and social fronts, and the executive committee plans another Congress in the near future to further unify this very practical and hopeful new-type radical movement.

It should be obvious that a new technique for radicalism is being worked out. The discouragement which has followed the many small and conflicting political expressions of American radicalism, the dissatisfaction with the extreme conservatism of the official American labor movement, and the problem of bringing the farmers, young people, and radical church people into a mass movement along with labor seem now surmountable obstacles. Maybe, after all, there is hope ahead.

# Not in the

## Beware of Pacifism!

The current issue of the *Communist,* official organ of the Communist Party of the United States, contains an article on "The Fourteenth Anniversary of Our Party," which says: "We constantly warn the American workers against the illusions of pacifism spread by liberals and Socialists. . . . Our Party equips the workers with the understanding that the struggle against the imperialist war must, in the event of war, be turned at the opportune moment into civil war for the overthrow of the war-breeding capitalist order."

## Fascist Link

Sir Oswald Mosley, who founded a pacifist movement in England after his failure to sway the Labor Party toward the establishment of a five-man cabinet, has not only made a visit to study fascism in Italy and entertained a delegation of Italian Fascists in England, but recently sent four delegates from the British Union of Fascists to attend the Nazi celebrations at Nuremberg.

## Nazi "Radicalism"

How sincere were the early promises of economic radicalism made by the Hitler movement in an effort to capture support of the German workers, has been demonstrated by the fact that one hundred and fifty local leaders of the Nazi Industrial Organization, according to the *Arbeiter Zeitung,* of Vienna, have recently been sent to concentration camps because they had passed a resolution calling for the nationalization of German coal mines—which was once a part of the Nazi official program.

## Belgian Delegate Backs Pacifism

The well-known Belgian political leader and Social Democrat, Emil Vandervelde, who is Belgium's representative at the Disarmament Conference, has expressed an opinion on war resistance in Belgium which has been circulated widely by European pacifists. Regarding the imprisonment of the war resisters, Hem Day and Leo Campion, Vandervelde wrote to the Military Court, expressing his sympathy with the defense and declaring: "I consider it morally impossible to regard or treat as criminals those who for conscientious reasons refuse to *learn to kill.* In many other countries legislation permits conscientious objection in certain conditions. Until a similar arrangement is formally permitted by our law, I express the hope that men who courageously accept the responsibility for their actions will not be treated as deserters."

## Still Further Down

A new depth for low interest rates was reached last week when the Federal government borrowed 75 million dollars for 91 days at one-tenth of one per cent per year. This transaction means that the use of 75 million dollars for three months is costing the government less than 22 thousand dollars.

## Spending Our Way Out

An item in the *United States News* informs us that "Uncle Sam, like the hero of 'Brewster's Millions,' has his pockets full of money and is struggling hard just now to get rid of it. He wants, in a hurry, to force billions, as much as 12 billions, of cash and credit, into the hands of the people. The object, expressed officially, is to spend the country back toward prosperity. . . ."

## Lack of Investment Opportunities

The collapse of the investors' market in the United States is portrayed in the following table, prepared by the *Literary Digest:*

THE DECREASE IN CAPITAL ISSUES AND PRIVATE INVESTMENTS

| | |
|---|---|
| *Capital Issues* | |
| First half of 1930 | $3,514,500,000 |
| First half of 1931 | $1,932,200,000 |
| First half of 1932 | $ 247,200,000 |
| First half of 1933 | $ 81,800,000 |
| *Private Investments* | |
| August, 1929 | $ 884,094,813 |
| August, 1930 | $ 291,114,219 |
| August, 1931 | $ 126,961,055 |
| August, 1932 | $ 173,234,467 |
| August, 1933 | $ 52,901,493 |

## The Military Mind

A columnist in the *Army and Navy Journal* makes the following comment in the last issue of that publication: "Every day it gets worse and worse in Cuba and intervention comes nearer and nearer. The Navy is on the job, the Army is prepared to move. The country can expect prompt restoration of order once we are in occupation."

## Soviet Foreign Trade

Exports from Soviet Russia for the six months ending in June, 1933, were valued at 225 million rubles, as compared with 275 million rubles for the same months of the preceding year. Imports for the first half of 1933 totaled 191 million rubles, as compared with 405 millions for the first six months of the previous year. Germany, England and New Zealand were Russia's best customers, while imports came chiefly from Germany, England and Italy.

## Soviet Unions Run Insurance

"Trade unions taking over the Department of Labor and administering a social insurance fund equal to the entire national budgets of Poland, Rumania, Italy and Latvia put together: is this a dream?" Leo Gruliow puts this query in a Federated Press article outlining the changes inaugurated September 15 in Russia, under the terms of which the Peoples Commissariat of Labor was merged with the All-Union Council of Trade Unions. At the same time a complete reorganization of the social insurance system was announced. A fund of four and a half billion rubles is now at the disposal of the unions for insurance in addition to millions for social and educational work. Of the social insurance budget, 800 millions go to temporary disabilities, 530 millions for pensions, 200 millions for workers' health resorts, camps and sanitariums; 200 millions for childrens' institutions, and so on.

## Chicago Evictions Climb

Evictions in Chicago during August numbered 5,315, not counting a small area on the southeast side not covered by the figures of the *Daily Law Bulletin.* The August figure is 60 per cent higher than the 3,478 recorded for July and a little higher than the 5,200 for June.

## Negroes Awarded Damages

The Prince George Hotel in New York City was compelled, by a recent Municipal Court decision, to pay $400 to Dr. T. Price Hurst and relatives as damages for the refusal to permit the occupancy of rooms previously reserved. The fact was established in court that the discrimination was on racial grounds, reports the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

## Voting for President

One of the most important measures considered by the next session of Congress will be a constitutional amendment proposed by Congressman Clarence F. Lea of California, Chairman of the Democratic Caucuses during the recent special session, to change the method of electing the President and Vice-President of the United States. Mr. Lea's amendment would abolish personal electors and divide the electoral votes of each state among the candidates in proportion to their popular votes within the state—a plan approximating direct popular election but considered more practicable because it would meet less opposition from the small states now somewhat over-represented in the electoral college. A similar measure is being sponsored in the Senate by Senator Norris of Nebraska.

# Headlines

### "Scab Shop" Makes Gompers Statue

A spontaneous strike against low wages at the plant of the General Bronze Corporation in Corona, New York suburb, according to Federated Press reports, has brought out the fact that the memorial to Samuel Gompers, long president of the American Federation of Labor, has just been completed in a scab shop. The memorial was finished in mid-September, and the company reports that it "has no agreement with any union."

### One Case of Many

Work on a big Cleveland sewer project has been halted as the result of revelations that workers were receiving only from 15 to 30 cents an hour, in violation of the NRA and the city charter, which provides that no contractor on a city job shall pay less than 50 cents an hour to his workers.

### Right to Live

"The right of a woman to live from the results of her labor whether industry is making money or not," is upheld in the principle underlying the Ontario minimum-wage law in the 1932 annual report of the Minimum Wage Board of that province.

### New Power Aid for West?

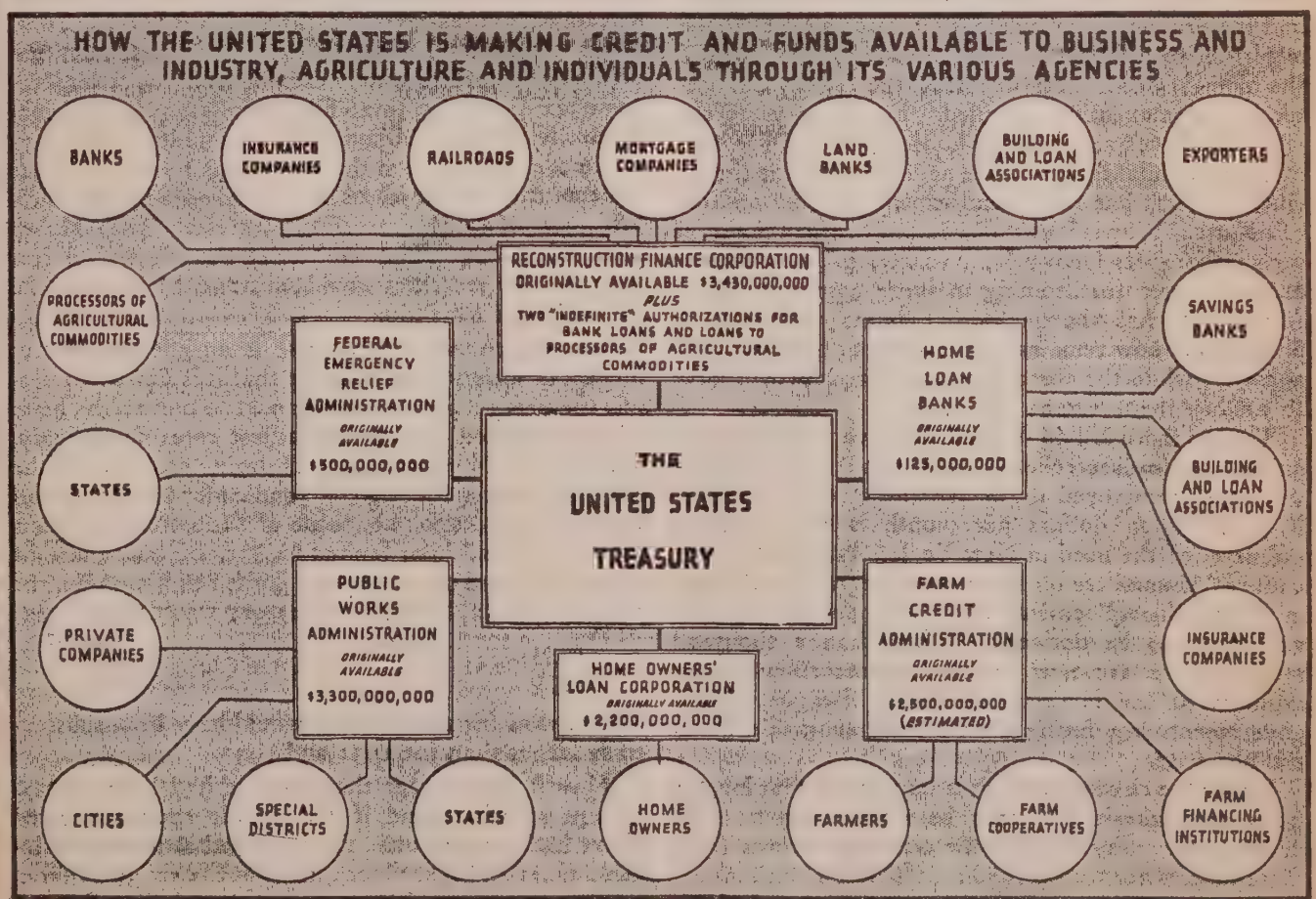
Senator McNary of Oregon returned recently to the capital and in a White House visit urged favorable consideration for two new public power projects affecting the people of Oregon and Washington. The first is a 72-foot dam in the Columbia River at Bonnieville Rapids, in place of the 30-foot dam proposed by the Public Works Administration. The second is a 12-million dollar plan for a dam at Rennie Rapids in the McKenzie River near Eugene, to enable that city to sell cheap power to 32 neighboring municipalities.

### Responsible for Clause 7A?

Credit for the insertion of the labor freedom clause, so-called, or 7A, in the National Industrial Recovery Act, is given by the Federated Press Washington Bureau to Dr. W. Jett Lauck, independent economist and labor advisor, and Dr. Harold G. Moulton, director of the Brookings Institution at Washington. The F. P. bases its assertion upon careful inquiry among officials who comprised the first advisory commitee which presented the original draft of the Wagner bill to a White House conference last spring.

### Protesting California Sales Tax

The Socialist Party of San Francisco has been leading in the wave of protests against California's new sales tax, which Socialists castigate as "relieving the wealthy of their responsibility and putting the burden on those least able to bear it."




*From a chart in the* United States News.

# Starvation or Taxation

KIRBY PAGE

STARVATION on an appalling scale in the United States this winter can be averted only by huge appropriations of public funds. The situation is far more desperate now than at any previous time. The decrease by two or three millions in the number of unemployed is more than offset by the diminishing resources at the disposal of millions of families under the cumulative pressure of four years' depression. The rising price level is not only placing a heavier financial burden upon relief agencies for the same quantity of assistance, but is driving to relief centers masses of unemployed who are no longer able to eke out a bare existence upon their meagre savings.

The drying up of the springs of private charity deserves emphatic emphasis. In recent months less than one dollar out of four expended on relief of the unemployed throughout the country has come from private gifts. National, state and local treasuries have been compelled to assume three-fourths of the burden, and the proportion of public to private funds available is certain to increase rapidly. In New York City, at the moment of most terrible need, the Gibson Committee has permanently disbanded. For three years this body has served as a clearing-house or community chest of private philanthropy in the field of relief for the unemployed. It has raised and expended many millions of dollars. Why is it now disbanding? For the simple reason that gifts from private sources for this purpose are no longer forthcoming in large aggregate sums. Mr. Gibson has announced that "mass relief for the unemployed now remains in the hands of governmental agencies, while the various private agencies will have to conduct their regular financing."

Two or three billion dollars at the very least are required if adequate relief is to be made available for destitute unemployed during the next twelve months. Fifteen million dollars per month is the minimum estimate of the need in New York City, as set by the Citizens' Committee on Relief and the Workers' Committee on Unemployment. From what sources are such vast sums to be derived? More than a thousand municipalities are now in default, according to an estimate of the National Municipal League. State governments are facing almost insurmountable financial obstacles.

Under the circumstances it is imperative that income taxes and inheritance taxes be utilized on a more drastic scale. Fortunately, the potential returns from these sources are vast beyond most persons' realization. During the past six years, if persons in the income class $25,000-and-above had been limited by graduated rates of taxation to $20,000 each, if those in the class $10,000-and-under-$25,000 had been limited to $10,000 each, and if those in the class $5,000-and-under-$10,000 had been limited to $5,000 each, the yield in taxes would have been as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1931 | $2,701,567,000 |
| 1930 | 4,564,743,000 |
| 1929 | 8,639,599,000 |
| 1928 | 8,878,600,000 |
| 1927 | 6,828,542,000 |
| 1926 | 6,205,834,000 |
| | $37,818,885,000 |

This stupendous sum of more than 37 billion dollars does not reveal the full potentiality of income taxation because of the avoidance of such taxation through numerous devices perfected by clever lawyers, and by investments in tax-exempt securities. Mr. Evans Clark, in his monumental study of debt, estimates that "the volume of securities wholly exempt from the federal income tax has grown to 26 billion dollars. In addition, there are some 12 billion dollars of federal securities which are exempt from the normal tax only." At four per cent the interest on 26 billions exceeds a billion dollars, most of which is received by persons in the higher income brackets. The removal of the tax-exempt feature of these securities would substantially increase the yield of income taxation.

The inheritance tax likewise is an effective instrument. If society should decide that it is unwise to permit the passing on of more than $100,000 to the heirs of the deceased, and should adjust rates accordingly, the yield would be immense. If during recent years the heirs of estates of $100,000-and-under-$200,000 had been limited to $50,000, those of $200,000-and-under-$1,000,000 had been limited to $75,000, and those of $1,000,000-and-over had been limited to $100,000, the amounts available for the Treasury would have been:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1931 | $2,590,000,000 |
| 1930 | 2,612,000,000 |

The returns for earlier years would have been substantially larger than for 1931 and 1930.

Thus it is apparent that if there had been no tax-exempt securities and if the drastic rates suggested above had been in force, the combined returns from income taxes and inheritance taxes in the six years from 1926 to 1931 would have exceeded 50 billion dollars.

# The C. P. L. A. States its Case

A. J. MUSTE

THE underlying currents of the American labor movement are complex, and in the space allotted we cannot provide an exhaustive analysis with adequate supporting facts, but only some thought-provoking and possibly wrath-provoking generalizations.

First, the pent-up resentment born of four years of humiliation and misery, the slight upturn in employment, the rise in prices, the impression created by the wording of Section 7a of the NRA and by the demagogy of many Administration spokesmen that organizing into unions is now "the thing to do," have combined to bring many new workers into the unions and unleashed a great wave of strikes.

The overwhelming majority of the new members are being enrolled in the American Federation of Labor unions. At first the A. F. of L. gained chiefly in such industries as mining and garments, where there was some union machinery and tradition in existence. Now even such a mossback union as the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers has been in recent years is taking in many new members in steel. The Trade Union Unity League (Communist-affiliate) unions have added some members and conducted some strikes, but an insignificant percentage of the total. In a few instances, such as shoes, unions independent of the A. F. of L. and T. U. U. L. both hold the lead. Unquestionably there is a powerful drive toward trade union unity—under the A. F. of L. banner. By the time this article is published the Amalgamated Clothing Workers may be in the fold. Rumor has it the railroad brotherhoods are increasingly favorable to A. F. of L. affiliation. In so far as this means an end to the dual unionist adventuring of the T. U. U. L., it is a gain for labor.

Whether the tendency will be maintained until we have, as in Britain, a trade union federation practically all inclusive depends upon two factors. One is the extent to which the A. F. of L. adapts itself to the new conditions by eliminating craft unionism, officials who have gone to seed, and at least the grosser forms of racketeering. The other is the course of economic development. If business achieves a measure of stability and fairly "normal" conditions obtain, the A. F. of L. has a fair chance to hold its gains. If times are bad, employers will make another drive to build company unions, and discontent will carry some workers into independent and generally left-wing unions.

The weakness of the radical movement is illustrated by the fact that the mass movement of organization and strikes was not inspired or led to any great extent by any of the left-wing organizations. The support which the government gave the A. F. of L. and the spontaneous upsurge of the masses were the dominant factors. This does not mean that the spade-work of certain left groups in the past does not count for a lot —for example, the hammering away by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action at the idea of a national federation of silk workers and a general strike in silk, where today 80,000 workers are out. Nor does it mean that one or the other of the left groups will not emerge to take leadership as the situation settles down. Lenin is said to have pursued the revolution for many years, but eventually he caught up with it!

WHAT of the future of the economic movement? The hopeful aspects from the standpoint of those who believe in a new economic order and who do not want to see a powerful trade union movement harden into a bulwark for the status quo are these: the fact that masses are on the move; that the anti-union psychology is being broken down; that in face of all pressure the workers strike; that there seems to be little strike-breaking though there are millions of unemployed (this must be ascribed, at least to a considerable extent, to the Unemployed League movement, in many sections inspired for the most part by the C. P. L. A., which for several years has inculcated the idea of having the unemployed picket shops during a strike rather than do scabbing); that these new masses are not indoctrinated with a conservative trade-union or a social-democratic philosophy and that the officialdom does not yet have them well in hand; that the American masses are capable of swift changes in psychology, which may throw them into Fascist ranks but may also give revolutionary leadership its golden opportunity.

On the other hand, Administration pressure is building the unions. What the Administration gives it may be able to take away. The unionism which it is sponsoring is not designed as an instrument for abolishing the profit system. The government is bent upon "united action of labor and management under adequate governmental sanctions and supervision." That tends toward a Fascist system. When a major crisis comes, the government will regard it as its first job to maintain "law and order": strikes will be ruthlessly suppressed, workers and especially union leaders will be expected to repay the debt of gratitude they owe the Roosevelt regime for the favors it seems now to bestow, and the A. F. of L. leadership will be so thoroughly tied up with that regime, against whose naval building pro-

gram, for example, it raises no protest, that it will offer no effective resistance.

BECAUSE only clear radical political leadership can meet this crisis in trade unionism when it comes, and because in any event the basic problems now confronting the working class in the United States as elsewhere are general and political in nature and less than ever susceptible of solution by simple economic action, the most important question now is whether the American working class has an effective political instrument with which to achieve its emancipation.

In the United States the Socialist Party as a party is definitely in eclipse, though here and there branches or members are engaged in useful activity. The defections of Upton Sinclair and Paul Blanshard are symptomatic of something much more serious than Norman Thomas suggested in THE WORLD TOMORROW of September 28 when he spoke of "the impatient unwillingness of Socialists" to build up the instrumentalities which are absolutely essential if we are to have a half-way democratic procedure toward a genuine coöperative commonwealth." That "half-way democratic procedure" gives away the game. "Half-way" will not do either as a policy or as a slogan today. "Half-way" parties fall apart in such a fierce crisis as the present. One must either regard the problem before the workers as an evolutionary one, of making one improvement and then another in their conditions (in which case he is concerned about piling result upon result as rapidly as possible) and go quite logically today to Roosevelt, who is effecting cartelization of industry, increased government control, organization of labor into unions closely tied up with the government, etc., all of which took place in post-war Germany under Socialist or part-Socialist direction; or he must view the problem as a struggle for power between one class and another, which is in essence revolutionary whatever the precise form it takes, and in that case he cannot trust to the "half-way democratic procedure" of the Socialist Party. All the signs, moreover, indicate that the Socialist Party is not developing into an effective instrument to combat trade union officialdom and to lead the workers through the crisis in trade unionism to which we have alluded.

To the American masses the Communist Party is still not a part of themselves, but a committee from abroad whose performances they observe from a distance. It has given no indication that it can get away from its sectarian habits and attitudes.

The other group in the American scene which is definitely revolutionary, and which has in some notable instances demonstrated that it can command mass following in unions, strikes and unemployed leagues, is the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. A new American labor movement is being born. There is a growing and strong sentiment for a "new deal" so far as its leadership is concerned. More and more definitely in recent months Labor Actionists have reached the conviction that they must accept and measure up to the implied challenge.

"What we need," the *Modern Monthly* has recently said, "is a new radical party, a new revolutionary party—which will orient itself to American conditions, speak the American language, and address itself to the American workers and farmers." Such a party must have a class basis, primarily in the industrial workers, then in other producers. It must be anti-NRA. It must demand full use of productive machinery and plenty for the masses, not the negation of technology, the destruction of goods, and a $12-a-week minimum. It must have color, drama, mass appeal. It must be irrevocably determined to win power and to use it to get a new game with new players at the table, not merely a "new deal" by the same old gamblers with the same old marked cards. The C. P. L. A. will strive to unite all forces to bring such a party into being. The recent Chicago conference for United Political Action may prove a step in the right direction, but only if the movement rids itself of its populist and liberal notions.

The NRA is in serious difficulties now. The crisis will probably deepen as winter approaches. There will be a revulsion against it when it is compelled at last to face reality and stand either for or against the profit system. The Administration will then move in the direction of fascism. There is a marked resurgence of Fascist movements at this very moment. Whether, when the crisis comes, fascism triumphs and the American masses are enslaved under a caste system in an autarchic state, or they win through the "third American revolution" to plenty, security and freedom, depends upon whether we forge without further delay such a revolutionary political instrument as we have described.

## Veterans' Jungle Camp

SEE what Peace offers these for whom the flags
Once waved, who marched erect, their rifles shining,
Off to a distant war, while crowds stood lining
The bannered streets, and gave them chocolate, fags,
And little holy Bibles for their bags.
Four years of this! And will they be designing
Crude huts the most of life, and daily dining
Upon a hobo-stew, half clad in rags?

They've learned one trade. If our grain-heavy land
Must starve them, that remains. We still can cry:
The Reds! the Japs! the Finns!; draft God again
To help us end all war, and so command
These one-time heroes off—that they may die
And live at least on monuments as men.

ALAN JENKINS

# War and the "United Front"

DEVERE ALLEN

WITH 2,616 delegates from 35 states, representing hundreds of liberal, pacifist, veteran, radical, labor, student, and A. F. of L. organizations, the United States Congress Against War met in New York City, September 29 to October 1, welcomed the noted French Communist author and anti-militarist Henri Barbusse, discussed the war menace in all of its phases, drew up a pronouncement calculated to guide anti-war workers in comprehending the nature of modern war and war's causes, and established a permanent committee to carry on a unified campaign against international war in the future and against the conditions out of which all wars arise.

The Congress was remarkable in a variety of respects. It certainly marked a turning point in the history of the American peace movement; for hitherto, almost without exception, peace and pacifist organizations, constantly charged by reactionaries with being subsidized from Moscow and linked with red, rampant, r-r-raging revolution, have remained aloof from any degree of anti-war coöperation with official Communists. This Congress, quite frankly, grew out of the Amsterdam Congress of August, 1932, and was brought about by the initiative of Communists, acting, of course, on instructions from the Third International, or Comintern. The presence of almost every important pacifist organization and every leader of pacifism who could get there, clearly shows that pacifists have decided that silly accusations are worth nothing more than their face value, and that it is inconsistent to coöperate regularly with capitalists who believe in international war but disbelieve in class war, while refusing coöperation with workers who believe in class war though detesting international war. The pacifists and other non-Communists who entered into the Congress did so with their eyes open, knowing well enough that the major interest of Comintern was the prevention of a war against Soviet Russia, and knowing that in accord with Communist tactics, the Communists could be expected to conceive of a united front only as united primarily behind their own particular doctrines. On this latter point they were, on the whole, pleasantly disappointed. True, in the preparations for the Congress, the Communist *Daily Worker* gave voice to bitter and vicious attacks on the Socialist Party, whereupon that party officially withdrew, although the official withdrawal did not induce a number of Socialists to interrupt their relations with the Congress. At one later stage, during the conference itself, Communists attempted to debar a "Lovestone Communist"—that is, an anti-official Communist—from the presiding committee; but when confronted by an ultimatum on the part of non-Communist elements who demanded a real united front on principle, the Communist leaders acquiesced, and gracefully at that; so that eventually, in the closing session, it was possible to witness the strange spectacle of Communist leaders fighting down mob spirit in order to assure a fair hearing for a hated "renegade."

AS a matter of fact, while no report of the Congress, if realistic, could overlook such matters, they were comparatively trivial in contrast to the rather extraordinary sympathy and toleration shown in committee work and at the Congress by leaders of divergent groups, Communists as well as others. Assuredly, something was done to dispel the fear that usually makes those who are opposed in theory regard their opponents as wearers of spiked tails and smoking horns. And while there are many of us who are by no means committed to the principle of the united front, which, it has been pointed out time and again, has often resulted disastrously and vindicated distrust in Communist strategy, one nevertheless feels that this Congress shows the capacity of official communism to work in coöperation with pacifists and others, when official communism wants, for some special reason, to do so very much. In fairness, too, it ought to be stated that Communists themselves made the suggestion that not more than a third of the places on the continuation committee should be given to persons affiliated in any way with Communist groups.

It would be a source of profound strength if thousands of workers showed their readiness to struggle against all forms of war. But, in the light of history, it is something to be welcomed when thousands of workers show indisputably that they will struggle vigorously against international war. As a matter of fact, unless conditions move more rapidly toward intolerable catastrophe than they seem to be moving today, the controverted issue of class war, however important in principle, may be remote and somewhat theoretical. And if the peace policy of the Soviet Union is exaggerated by the Communists into the only true peace policy in the world, still it can hardly be gainsaid that recent months have revealed a striking contrast between the international attitude of Soviet Russia and that of the capitalistic powers. When Admiral Fiske publicly looks for a war to wipe out Russia, surely the official supporters of the Soviet Union

may be pardoned if they emotionalize their loyalty.

The Congress, both in its deliberations and in its manifesto, which will be issued for wide distribution, went far in realism and tolerance beyond the parent meeting at Amsterdam, some of whose public statements were distinctly amateurish and unreal. What most of those in central points believe to be a thoroughly sincere effort was made at the end of the Congress to bring into the continuing body both the Socialist Party and the Continental Congress of Workers and Farmers. Should this effort succeed, a vast and tremendously influential organization, working unitedly so far as agreement can be obtained—and that means practically to a rather extraordinary degree—would be operating as a potent check against war, preparedness and nationalism. Almost the only groups absent would be the peace societies whose endowments and support permit them to unite, in the last analysis, only with organizations which, while not insincerely working for peace, are ready to support international wars of certain kinds and are not ready to work even on a minimum basis of agreement with radical organizations. It should be a sobering thought that none of these conservative peace societies counted against war in 1917, and that practically none of them have shifted their ground an iota since that tragic year.

# Is Americanism Revolutionary?

*Toward a United Front—A Philosophy for American Workers.* By Leon Samson. Farrar & Rinehart. $2.50.

IT is the theme of this book that Americanism is essentially revolutionary. The questions will immediately be asked, Why is it, then, that revolutionary parties are so feeble here, that capitalism is so entrenched, that the D. A. R. is so timid, etc.? If the barrage of questions can be suspended long enough for a glance at the book, it will be discovered that the answer to all of them lies just in that fact. Because the temper of America is revolutionary, although the form of its institutions is otherwise, that temper resents the charge of conservatism continually made by radical groups. Americanism has become a substitution for socialism and revolution of the realistic type. It is a form of inoculation which prevents America from taking the real thing.

Let it be said that Mr. Samson writes interestingly, intelligently and, to a considerable degree, convincingly, in spite of the fact that his central theme is a paradox and that he plays with seeming contradictions all through his pages.

"The American does not want to listen to socialism, since he thinks he already has it," says the author. He is an individualist, yes, but a collective individualist whose ways are standardized to a degree. The idea that everybody can become a capitalist is not only an American view of capitalism, it is a socialistic conception of capitalism. The American is as much opposed to classes as any Socialist, and even his competition seems to him to be rather the Socialist rivalry of Soviet Russia than a struggle between classes. He prides himself on his democracy, not recognizing that it is unrealistic and laid out on class and race lines. In a word, "there is not a single bourgeois concept that is not, as it passes through the prism of Americanism, broken up into substitutive pseudo-socialistic forms."

"Americanism is inverted socialism." The latter term means that the people are the government, but Americanism would have it that the government is the people, and the American doesn't see the difference. His capitalists talk about the abolition of poverty, the standardization of commodities, a classless society, the emancipation of women, the ideal of service, etc. It is a socialistic spirit in a capitalistic system, and this same desire for substitutes runs all through American life.

The American is essentially utopian, given to schemes, blue prints, ideals; taking his conceptions in the large instead of working them out from the ground up. His lack of realism is characteristic. Theatricalism has marked every development of individual and social life, business and politics. It is not that the American wears a mask, he *is* a mask.

So we return to the point from which the author started. "The American is revolutionary in ways that have nothing to do with revolution; revolutionary energy here runs off into strange ways and directions, into labor, into business, into salesmanship, into literature, into everything except revolution." His unspent social energy has had to find these outlets. He is revolutionary in life, but not in politics.

Mr. Samson insists that if the leaders of the American working class are to make any headway, they must become more realistic and address themselves to Americans as the latter see themselves. "The American is an unconscious Socialist; and what the leaders of the working class must do is not to bother him with new Socialist ideals . . . but to make his own socialism conscious to him. . . . Instead of finding for Marxism an American mask, [they must] discover in Americanism the kernel of a Marxist meaning." Further, he believes that it is necessary to create a realistic class alignment that will turn the revolutionary passion from bourgeois enterprise to proletarian struggle. That problem can be solved, he says, only by a United Labor Front, a party that is founded on the broad base of the working class, one that is able to unite all the various proletarian groups.

In using the term "United Front," Mr. Samson is not referring to its current technical meaning; in fact he distinctly says that such a front will never be established by a mere get-together of the present warring proletarian groups. The revolutionary aspect of Americanism can be the unifying idea for such a grouping, and the intellectuals of America are, he believes, in a strategic position to take the lead in bringing about such a United Front.

Is this suggestion for a way out realistic? That is the fundamental question. One may go with the author all the way in his diagnosis of the American temper and yet have doubts about his remedy. One need not worry about his laughing at Norman Thomas, William Z. Foster and other radical leaders; they can stand it. Nor need one be concerned about his dogmatic dismissal of American Socialism from having any part to play in the drama; we have heard the same thing from the *Christian Century* and others. But does he not reach the very heights of utopianism

himself in expecting American intellectuals to lead in the formation of a veritable working class party with a united front? In this he sounds like a spokesman for the late L. I. P. A.

Nevertheless, the book should be read for its stimulating analysis of Americanism and the soundness of its central contention, whether or not its conclusions be accepted.

PAUL JONES

## WE RECOMMEND

*The American Transportation Problem. By Harold G. Moulton. Prepared for the National Transportation Committee. The Brookings Institution, Washington. $3.00.* This volume is absolutely indispensable to students of railway problems. Its 900 pages contain a vast range of information on all aspects of the question. Long sections are also devoted to water, highway, and air transportation. Socialists and other persons who advocate the socialization of transportation will do well to master the contents of this book.

*A B C of the Peace Movement, Dates and Facts. By Anna T. Nilsson. International League of Youth, 2, rue de l'Ecole-de-Medecine, Geneva. Five copies for six Swiss francs (about $1.20).* A valuable 78-page pamphlet, for ready reference, outlining the principal facts about the peace movement from the founding of the first peace society in 1815 to modern times. Does not attempt a critical evaluation, and is weaker on cases of non-violent resistance than in other respects. But it contains data on the recipients of the Nobel prize in past years, peace monuments, peace museums, and similar facts not easily picked up. The author has long been a worker for peace and is a retired Swiss teacher. The booklet has already gone through printings in several languages, and others are to follow.

*"Land of the Pilgrim's Pride"—1932-1933. American Civil Liberties Union.* The annual report of this valiant organization which has saved the United States from shame in many an onslaught on freedom and the rights of the people—but which, alas, has not always been successful, as the record shows.

*World Revolution and the U. S. S. R. By Michael T. Florinsky. Macmillan Company. $2.00.* Here is a comprehensive history of the struggle within Communist ranks as to whether socialism in one country is possible, or whether simultaneous revolutions in several countries are required for victory. The rise and fading out of the Third International, or Comintern, is traced. Conclusive evidence is presented that Stalin and other ranking Bolshevik officials are now far less interested in world revolution than they are in stabilizing and extending the sway of communism in the Soviet Union. This volume furnishes a background for an understanding of the Soviet refusal to support German Communists in an effort to seize power prior to Hitler's victory.

*Marriage. By Ernest R. Groves. Henry Holt and Co. $3.50.* Professor Groves, who has already given us a valuable leadership in thought regarding the relations of the sexes, has here presented in vast detail and documentation the whole series of questions involved in the marital tie. The peculiar virtue of the volume comes, perhaps, from the fact that while it is not in the least evasive in its treatment of the physical side of marriage, it goes into issues that cannot be separated from the physical—mental adjustment and especially the social factors surrounding courtship, the engagement, the law, domestic adjustment, the modern changes in the status of women, and even child training.

*Nationalism and Education in Modern China. By Cyrus H. Peake. Columbia University Press. $3.00.* After a survey of education in China from 1860 to the present the author discusses modern Chinese nationalism, especially in the light of Chinese school texts from 1905 down. With the attention of the world focussed on China, this book is very timely and explains much about the present Chinese situation.

*The Philosophy of Henry George. By George Raymond Geiger. With an Introduction by John Dewey. The Macmillan Company. $3.00.* The latest and most adequate interpretation of a unique figure who has left a permanent impression upon the liberal and radical world. This huge volume contains chapters on George's economic solution, his relation to socialism, to religion and to ethics. A thorough understanding of the social philosophy underlying the single tax is highly desirable during this period of rapid social change. The book also presents a short biography of the radical who almost became mayor of New York City, and who is described by Professor Dewey as "one of the world's great social philosophers, certainly the greatest which this country has produced."

*The League on Trial. By Max Beer. Houghton Mifflin Co. $4.00.* A realistic analysis of the League's weakness and strength, from, refreshingly, the German point of view. The writing is in an extraordinary semi-narrative form, with touches of poesy, which produces a most unusual and intimate sense of understanding and intimacy with the Geneva institution. Herr Beer's realization of the need of the League is tempered by his sober declaration that the real League has not yet been created. "Is Geneva," he asks, "a place of pilgrimage for the devout and the enthusiastic; or is it the Exchange of skilful profiteers? Will it give us eternal peace, or is it an armistice between battles? Nobody enters the soil of Geneva without hope—and nobody leaves it without a feeling of disquiet; only the diplomats come and go with unshaken calm, even if they carry with them an honest burden of professional cares in their portfolios . . . "

# CORRESPONDENCE

## Then It Was the Kaiser

I DO not expect that you will print the following lines, for I have found that our liberal journals are no more liberal in granting space to ideas which conflict with their own than are our reactionary newspapers and magazines. But whether you print them or not, I consider it my duty to express my complete disagreement with your editorial "Dear Doctor Einstein," in the September 28th issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW.

Instead of chiding Professor Einstein, we should all admire him for his courage in coming out openly and declaring that he has changed his opinion about non-participation in war under *any* circumstances. It shows his sanity, his clear vision, his realization of the fact that circumstances alter cases. And there are thousands and thousands of pacifists who agree with him. The undersigned has been a pacifist all his life, and, he believes, as good a pacifist as any. Nevertheless, he would not only justify a war against Germany at the present time, but he prays and hopes for one.

The reason is a very simple one, or rather, two reasons. The first reason is that Hitler is preparing for war. Only a man who

is deaf, dumb and blind and a moron in addition can fail to see that all Germany is arming and, if Hitler is permitted to exist for another four or five years, Germany will be so well equipped with armaments, with gas and bacterial poisons that all Europe will become a shambles. A war in five years from now will cost twenty or thirty million human beings. A war at the present moment would cost twenty or thirty thousand. Well, I prefer a thousand dead to a million. It is better to have one victim now than a thousand victims five years from now.

The second reason is just as important. Hitlerism must be destroyed. You say that a war might eliminate Hitler, but it could never wipe out Hitlerism. In this I disagree with you. A war at the present time, which would of course end in the overthrow of the Hitlerites and Nazis, would again bring the liberal elements of Germany to the fore and, after the bitter lesson they have had, they would know how to protect themselves against a repetition of such a disaster.

I consider Hitlerism a greater disaster than any war. Hitlerism stands for brutal beatings, for mutilations, for kidnapping and assassinations, for the suppression not only of free speech and free press, but for the ruthless crushing of everything that humanitarians have been fighting for since the Renaissance, and more intensively and successfully since the middle of the 19th century. Hitlerism is not only ruthlessly crushing half of the non-Nazi population of Germany, but it is infecting other countries and giving encouragement to the black reactionaries and sadists of which every country possesses a certain number. Hitlerism must be destroyed, and to destroy Hitlerism war is justifiable, for Hitlerism is a much greater disaster than war.

There have been no "holy" wars, but I suppose you will admit that there have been some justifiable wars. I suppose that you will admit that England's war against Philip II and his Invincible Armada was both necessary and justifiable. I imagine that even you, if you had lived in Elizabeth's time, would have participated in that war. Well, a war against Hitlerism and all that it stands for would be not only a justifiable war, it would be the first "holy" war that humanity has ever fought.

*New York, N. Y.* DR. WILLIAM J. ROBINSON

# ANNOUNCEMENTS

## Distinguished Visitors

MANY American audiences will have the privilege this winter of hearing two speakers, one well known already to Americans and the other less well known but no less significant. One is Fred Henderson, prominent pacifist Laborite and author of numerous books on socialism, who is making his first American lecture tour this fall under the auspices of the Social Problems Lecture Bureau, Moxley Building, Chicago, Ill. He is to appear before the Industrial Engineers of the Taylor Society at their annual meeting to lecture on "The Economic Consequences of Power Production," the subject of his recent book. Morris L. Cooke, director of the Taylor Society, says of this book: "It is the most important contribution made, to my understanding, on the subject." Mr. Henderson will arrive in New York City on October 15 and will leave almost at once on his schedule, which will carry him through Syracuse, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Indianapolis and many other Middle Western cities. He will then return east for Connecticut and other engagements in New England.

Sponsored by the League for Industrial Democracy, A. Fenner Brockway, until recently chairman of the British Independent Labor Party and editor of the *New Leader* (London), will arrive in this country on October 5. Between then and December 14 he will be traveling widely. Interested groups still have an opportunity to secure his services by writing to the L. I. D., 112 East 19th Street, New York City. Mr. Brockway's new book, "The Bloody Traffic," is a stirring exposure of the armament industry and its secret practices.

## F. O. R. Conference

THE Fellowship of Reconciliation will coöperate this year with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in holding its annual conference at Swarthmore College, Pa., October 13-15. "Pacifism in the World Crisis" is the general theme of the Conference. The complete program follows: *Friday Evening, October 13:* "What is the Meaning of Pacifism in the Class Struggle?" Chairman, Edmund B. Chaffee; Discussion opened by Arthur L. Swift, Reinhold Niebuhr, John Haynes Holmes. *Saturday Morning:* "The Fellowship's Work"; Chairman, Reinhold Niebuhr; Discussion opened by John Nevin Sayre, J. B. Matthews, Howard Kester, Charles Thomson, Charles Webber; Election of F.O.R. Council. *Saturday Afternoon:* Address by Jane Addams, under auspices of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. *Saturday Evening:* "What are the Pacifists' Most Effective Resources for Social Change?" Chairman, Adelaide Case; Discussion opened by Edmund B. Chaffee, Roger Baldwin. *Sunday Morning:* Worship and Discussion; Leader, John Hughes. *Sunday Afternoon:* Meeting of Council and Representatives of Local Groups. Conference registration (fee $3.00) should be sent at once to the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York City.

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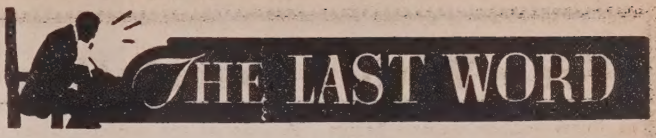


TSHEKEDI, in the sometimes meaningful vernacular, couldn't "take it." And so he gave in, thereby losing world sympathy but illuminating the whole procedure of white imperialism.

Tshekedi is a young, British-educated African chief, head of the Bamangwato tribe in Bechuanaland, which is located—not that it matters—between the Transvaal and South-West Africa. Africans, as outsiders often forget, also have their pride; and Tshekedi, aroused, had a white man flogged for living with a native woman after the fashion of a native. This was just too much for British pride, for it is the proud privilege of any imperialist white, British or otherwise, to "go native" if and when and as far as he pleases. Consequently, the British authorities asked Tshekedi to apologize for causing the universe to tremble because—for once—a white-skin was beaten on African soil. Tshekedi refused. What! Think of the danger in such a precedent! Shocked and outraged, British imperialists took quick action and Tshekedi was fired; in short, suspended from his job.

Tshekedi should have been happy, we suppose, that he was not, in the fashion for which ample precedent exists, suspended from the limb of a tree. But whether he was happy or sad, his fond mother brooded. Finally, she induced Tshekedi to recant. He apologized, and formally told King George: "I hereby abandon any right to deal with a case in which a European is concerned [even on my own soil, he ought to have added] and I undertake not to deal with any European case in the future."

Poor splendid wings! It was a beautiful flight of defiance while it lasted, but Tshekedi was up against the inevitable. Not only did he have a doting mama, but he was trying to break through the crust of an imperialism which has often been kinder than others but has invariably been more stupid.

To King George, Tshekedi's mother said: "I am undone and the tribe is undone. This is my weeping, my master. O, let it be regarded." What King George said when he got this tender appeal is not recorded. But unless all my previous study of British royalty and imperialism is at fault, I would wager an old copy of *Great Expectations* against a cancelled ha'penny stamp that it was, exactly: "Please pass the crumpets."

▶

WHILE I am still in the wilds of (British) Africa, I ought to set at rest all the worries of those who have been troubled over the skull of Mkwawa. I know what you are saying; but let me reply that until you have been troubled by the skull of Mkwawa, you simply don't know what trouble is. Mkwawa was, as I have once written in this column, Sultan of Tanganyika. The Versailles Treaty charged the Germans with stealing his skull, a sacred relic, and provided for its return. To every protestation since 1919 the Germans answered that, believe it or not, they had never had it, and if they had, it had got mislaid. Come to think of it, it was natural enough; few of us have learned to treat sacred skulls with all the care they deserve. Well, a British gentleman of Tanganyika recently reported seeing it packed carefully in some boxes long after the Germans had left. Hence, so long as the skull appears to be still among them, even if mislaid, the Tanganyika tribes can rest at least a bit more easily.

But for that matter, so will the other people of the world. Germany can ill afford the presence within her borders, just now, of even one more mummified skull.

Incidentally, I see that Frenchmen are now claiming that they have found the mummified skull of Henri IV. Looking over at the present German fascists, those patriotic Frenchmen were not going to be outdone.

*Eccentricus* ■

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